

Introduction

Orientalism and its Relation to Music and Musical Representation

You wake in me each bestial sense, you make me what I would not be.

Oscar Wilde, 'The Sphinx', 1894

I dare say that the highly civilised lady reading this will smile at an old fool of a hunter's simplicity when she thinks of her black bead-bedecked sister ... And yet, my dear young lady, what are those pretty things round your own neck? – they have a strong resemblance, especially when you wear that *very* low dress, to the savage woman's beads. Your habit of turning round and round to the sound of horns and tom-toms, your fondness for pigments and powders, the way in which you love to subjugate yourself to the rich warrior who has captured you in marriage, and the quickness with which your taste in feathered head-dresses varies, – all these things suggest touches of kinship; and remember that in the fundamental principles of your nature you are quite identical.

H. Rider Haggard, *Allan Quatermain*, 1887

This book examines character stereotypes of 'Orientals' played out on the British musical stage and alongside this the ways in which music was invoked in popular fiction and artworks to represent Others and to differentiate the Westerner from these Others. It looks at issues of orientalism, otherness, gender and sexuality that arise in artistic British representations of non-European musicians during the long nineteenth century. Depictions of the musical non-European appear within examples of many art-forms in this era, and this book focuses on case studies of musical stage works, fictional literature, book illustration, 'high art' and photography as illustrating examples of this overarching trend, exploring aspects of the portrayals of the musical 'Orient' and Other which move between the different artworks and art-forms.

The establishment of a theoretical framework is essential to orientalist studies, as the theoretical considerations in this area are intricate, and (at times) even contradictory, thus it is important to establish which aspects of the theories of orientalism will be used to analyse primary materials, as will be done in this introductory section. This book uses a group of intertwined theoretical ideas, (primarily) taken from orientalist theory, post-colonial studies, art theory, culture studies, musicology, gender studies and literary theory; thus there is no single theory running through the book, but aspects of these theories interweave creating a theoretical framework within which the case studies can be more broadly contextualized and explored.¹

1 Such work incorporating various theoretical strands is becoming more prominent, with recent publications including Phyllis Weliver's *Women Musicians in Victorian Fiction, 1860–1900: Representations of Music, Science and Gender in the Leisured Home* (Aldershot:

This book focuses on examples of arts that were popular, that is works that were not only commercially successful and widely disseminated, but which were aimed to suit the preferences and financial means of a wider general public. The examples of the popular arts used in this book were primarily created by upper middle-class artists,² however they were aimed to be understandable to and appeal to a broad audience, not just specialists. As the works were generally widespread and accessible to a large audience, and were consumed by people from different social ‘classes’, any attempt to apply ‘class’ theories to this study would be more of an attempt to impose external ideas, than a natural outcome of the materials studied.

Although opera is normally considered a ‘high art’ form, the case studies here considered were for popular, mass consumption and could only broadly be referred to as operas, hence my employment of the term ‘musical stage works’ – they were produced more for their commercial than artistic value. Even the examples of visual ‘high art’ discussed in Chapter 10 were aimed at a wider public who attended the increasingly busy art galleries and subscribed to the many periodicals that reproduced ‘high art’ images for mass consumption. The seeming escapism of art-forms like the artworks, romances and musical stage works here discussed actually frequently expresses the underlying concerns and pressures (spiritual, sexual, and cultural) of Victorian life,³ and it is such influences that this book explores in relation to the representation of the musical Other and ‘Orient’. These mediums frequently (and often unconsciously) convey ideas that were influential to the mainstream at the time. This book considers the long nineteenth century as roughly embracing the years from 1790 to 1914 and the start of World War I,⁴ so cutting across the (frequently arbitrary) segmentation of this period into the Romantic, Victorian and Edwardian eras and instead creating an opportunity to discuss broader issues of the Other and ‘Orient’ in relation to music in this period.

The Other

Due to the unavoidable involvement of a person within their own culture, the apparent ‘norms’ of their home society usually become naturalized⁵ so giving opportunity ‘to other’ those who do not conform to these standards. The term ‘ideology’ is employed in this book to describe ‘norms’ that are accepted or created by a cultural group, or a particular individual. As soon as a group of people are viewed as ‘different’, whether because of their sexuality, ‘race’, gender, religious beliefs or ‘class’, mistruths and

Ashgate, 2000) and Derek B. Scott’s *From the Erotic to the Demonic: On Critical Musicology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

2 Throughout this study, by ‘artists’ I mean composers and writers as well as visual artists.

3 Nina Auerbach, *Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth* (London: Harvard University Press, 1982), p. 43.

4 A few of the case studies date from after this, however their spirit continues as that of the long nineteenth century, rather than connecting with more twentieth-century ideals.

5 Reina Lewis, *Rethinking Orientalism: Women, Travel and the Ottoman Harem* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2004), p. 252.

fancies about them rapidly grow⁶ and are expressed in images of otherness, which are culturally implicated and often signify misunderstanding leading to fear. The idea of the Other is an important aspect of orientalist criticism; in othering a group of people, a culture often projects things which they fear as well as characteristics that they dislike onto them.

The 'Orient' is one of the most prevalent images of otherness in the European consciousness⁷ and although othering occurs in all cultures, the power (im)balance between Europe and its Others in the long nineteenth century (and beyond) makes orientalism a distinct and dangerous form of this practice.⁸ Even though the stereotypes and prejudices of 'Orient' change with time and place, these processes of othering persist into the twenty-first century with the ongoing influences of the systems and beliefs associated with imperial and orientalist practices. It is important to understand the ways that other cultures are 'filtered', as these can demonstrate much about (as well as have influence upon) the relationship between Britain and its Others and act as an expression of associated prejudices and fantasies.⁹ Prejudices and the depictions of 'Orient' are often subtle and unconsciously influenced so that they could easily be (mis)taken for 'factual' descriptions.

Although the focus of this book is presentations of the 'Oriental' Other, discussions of the male African Other in Chapters 6 and 9, and the South American Other in Part I have been included. This is because these different forms of othering occur alongside the more specifically 'Oriental' ones, within the same works or in other works by the same artist, so it seemed pertinent to include discussions of these representations. The term 'Oriental' has not been employed in descriptions of these examples, as it is not applicable, but they are discussed in the context of 'racial' othering in a broader context.

Basic definitions of orientalism

Different individuals reacted to the 'Orient' (real or imagined) in differing ways, and the fact that the British Victorian 'Orient' was a fractured entity with many different 'Orient' conceived, believed and depicted, complicates any study of orientalism. To generalize, orientalism is a component of a mismatched power struggle between East and West: through orientalist beliefs and depictions, the East was weakened and more easily mastered. Edward Said's (1935–2004) book *Orientalism* of 1978 is seminal to any discussion of definition in the field,¹⁰ however definitions within

6 Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries: India in the British Imagination, 1880–1930* (London: Verso, 1998), p. 31.

7 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Penguin Books, 1995 [1978]), p. 1.

8 Nicholas Thomas, 'Anthropology and "Orientalism"', *Anthropology Today*, 7/2 (April 1991): 6–7.

9 Laura Nader, 'Orientalism, Occidentalism and the Control of Women', *Cultural Dynamics*, 2/3 (1989): 329.

10 Robert Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 159.

orientalism studies are diverse and sometimes contradictory. This section attempts to provide a brief overview of some of the central aspects that define orientalism.

In an area in which the 'Orient' itself is not a fixed geographical space, the definitions of the practices of orientalism inevitably vary. Said concentrates on the 'Middle East' as the 'Orient', however Ziauddin Sardar, in his 1999 book called *Orientalism*, asserts that 'There simply has never been a definite object that is the Orient; the Orient is merely a pattern book from which strands can be taken to fashion whatever suits the temper of the times in the West';¹¹ this wider definition of the 'Orient' has been used in this book, and includes Asia, Islamic North Africa, the 'Middle East' and Turkey. In his work Said implies that orientalist sentiment is caused by imperialist greed and influence, however Richard King proposes a broader idea of orientalism by noting that orientalist thought is both influential on non-imperial European nations (his example being Germany), and focused onto countries that were never part of a European empire (including Japan).¹² 'Knowledge' of the 'Orient' is frequently used to enhance the sense of worth of the European, thus orientalism is 'a constructed ignorance, a deliberate self-deception, which is eventually projected on the Orient.'¹³ The assessment of individual works on the 'Orient' adds to broader discussions of the trends in orientalist thought,¹⁴ and the case studies here discussed depict many of the overarching themes and developments in British ideas of their Others in the long nineteenth century.

Orientalism protects the 'Occident' (or Western world) from the analysis of self that is integral to a true engagement with other cultures.¹⁵ Through this 'elaborate project of displacement and self-invention',¹⁶ and the fictionalization of the Other, Europeans actually reveal more about their own fears and desires than anything about the Other culture that they are attempting/claiming to portray; as Meyda Yeğenoğlu writes, orientalism 'is about the cultural representation of the West to *itself* by way of a detour through the other.'¹⁷ In line with Saidian thought, Ziauddin Sardar astutely observes that 'The history of Orientalism is the history of the Western self, its ideas, doings, concerns and fashions, and it is present in all its forms whether overt or covert.'¹⁸ For instance he cites the example of the Victorian explorer Richard Burton who attempted to confirm the fantasies of the *Arabian Nights* in his 'reality' of the 'Orient'.¹⁹ For Burton, like for many Europeans, the 'Orient' proffered all the

11 Ziauddin Sardar, *Orientalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1999), p. 53.

12 Richard King, *Orientalism and Religion: Postcolonial Theory, India and 'The Mystic East'* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 85.

13 Sardar, *Orientalism*, p. 4.

14 King, *Orientalism and Religion*, p. 89.

15 Jayant Lele, 'Orientalism and the social sciences', in Carol A. Breckenridge and Peter van der Veer (eds), *Orientalism and the Postcolonial Predicament* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p. 59. Cited in King, *Orientalism and Religion*, pp. 85–6.

16 Edward Ziter, *The Orient on the Victorian Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 196.

17 Meyda Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies: Towards a Feminist Reading of Orientalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 1.

18 Sardar, *Orientalism*, p. 16.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

illicit pleasures of 'deviant' sexuality (particularly sadomasochism); like many of his contemporary travellers Burton aimed to relieve his repressed sexuality in the 'Orient',²⁰ projecting 'every imaginable kind of sexual perversion onto the Orient. Burton presented Eastern women as sexual objects who were capable of infinite varieties of copulation and deserved equally infinite contempt'.²¹ These stereotypes represented all that was feared, and yet desired, by Westerners in the East.

According to Said, orientalism is 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'.²² When discussing Western scholars Said contends that Orientalists considered peoples in 'large collective terms' or 'abstract generalities', and had no interest in discussing individual 'Orientals'.²³ The Orientalist travelling outside of Europe usually held many preconceptions and prejudices,²⁴ but Said asserts that 'In all cases the Orient is *for* the European observer ... the Orientalist ego is very much in evidence, however much his style tries for impartial impersonality'.²⁵ Said's statements are frequently this strong (in this case maintaining that *all* Orientalists believe something), leading some of his contemporaries to censure his own generalizing tendencies. This book does not address the issue of whether or how much orientalism affected *all* Europeans and their views of the 'Orient', but presents a number of case studies in which it is an active element.

Said also asserts that the 'Orient' was 'almost a European invention';²⁶ this somewhat ambiguous statement has led to conflicting interpretations: that the 'Orient' did not exist outside of European discourse or that Europe misrepresented an 'Orient' that was truly there. Robert Young highlights this indistinctness in Said's arguments, pointing out that if there is no actual 'Orient' how can any account of it be considered a misrepresentation, as it must be based purely on fantasy.²⁷ Such confusion exacerbates the arguments surrounding orientalist theory. This book assumes that the 'Orient' as a geographical space is a fiction created by and for Europeans, and that there is no true single collective 'Orient', but instead an area that incorporates numerous distinct cultures. This investigation also presupposes that different individuals reacted to this imagined 'Orient' in differing ways, and that the British Victorian 'Orient' was a multiple construction incorporating many different 'Orient's' conceived, believed and depicted.

Nineteenth-century orientalist studies tended to focus upon studying the past of 'Oriental' cultures; by asserting that the zenith of non-European cultures had already passed they made the 'degeneration' of the 'Orient' seem to be unavoidable.²⁸ The 'Orient' was frequently studied through linguistic or religious historical inspection,

20 Sardar, *Orientalism*, p. 16.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

22 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 3.

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 154–5.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

25 *Ibid.*, p. 158.

26 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

27 Robert J.C. Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 170.

28 Sardar, *Orientalism*, p. 60.

meaning that Arabic, for example, was studied as if it were a dead language.²⁹ In this way scholars helped to perpetuate the image of the unchanging ‘Orient’, and so historical orientalism became a central facet of orientalist thought. Although this is particularly true of the ‘high arts’, popular works more often focused on a contemporary Other or expressed the middle-ground of a timeless ‘Orient’, as is demonstrated in many of the case studies in this book.

By rationalizing the ‘Orient’ within a Western framework, Orientalists attempted to de-mystify, and thus control, the East. Sardar maintains that the orientalist vision is grounded in two ‘simultaneous desires: the personal quest of the Western male for Oriental mystery and sexuality and the collective goal to educate and control the Orient in political and economic terms.’³⁰ To assist this quest for control, the ‘natives’ of Other places are represented as ‘degenerate’ in order to validate conquest, but as redeemable enough to excuse Europe’s continuing interference.³¹ The old adage ‘knowledge is power’ is particularly apt in orientalism, and irrefutably, power establishes the representations that come to be accepted as ‘real’.³² Thus many modern theorists of orientalism consider academia and indeed the arts to have enabled or at least aided political control in the European empires and the wider ‘Orient’; to use Fred Halliday’s metaphor, ‘if you plan to rob a bank, you would be well advised to have a pretty accurate map of its layout, know what the routines and administrative practices of its employees are, and, preferably have some idea of who you can suborn from within the organization’.³³

This brief overview makes it apparent that despite the volume of writing emerging on orientalist theory, as yet there is no single or all-encompassing definition of the term ‘orientalism’. The field is still a comparatively new one, however critical awareness is constantly increasing, as is the variety and specificity of definitions. Said nevertheless remains a decisive influence, something of which he himself was proud.

Orientalism and exoticism

Having established the definitions of orientalism that apply to this study, it is relevant to briefly discuss exoticism and the critical difference between these two concepts. Exoticism is the evocation of ‘a place, people or social milieu’³⁴ that is ‘perceived as different from home by the people making and receiving the exotic cultural product’, creating something that is different, colourful and ‘suggestive’ of another

29 Sardar, *Orientalism*, p. 60.

30 Ibid., pp. 1–2.

31 John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p. 12.

32 Ibid., p. 75.

33 Fred Halliday, ‘“Orientalism” and its critics’, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 20/2 (1993): 160.

34 Ralph P. Locke, ‘Exoticism’. *Grove Music Online* ed. L. Macy, <www.grovemusic.com> (Accessed 27 May 2006).

culture.³⁵ Thus on a basic level, certain aspects of orientalism could be considered as exoticisms also. However the two concepts differ in their usage; exoticism is an artistic tool, whereas orientalism is charged with cultural and/or political agendas. For example Claude Debussy (1862–1918) uses non-European musical elements in his works, particularly ideas inspired by the Indonesian *gamelan*, ‘in such a way as to minimize their specific geographical and cultural associations’;³⁶ Debussy adds unusual colour to his work with these influences, but he does not do this as a critique of the culture from which the ideas were taken. This is the essential difference between exoticism and orientalism: whilst exoticism enables artists (in whatever art-form) to broaden their artistic palate and to explore new artistic mediums, images and styles, orientalism depicts another culture in such a way as to create comment, or to highlight (often negative) difference. The former appreciates and embraces cultural diversity, whereas the latter (generally) disparages or criticizes it. Even though orientalism may use elements of exoticism within its processes, these concepts remain extremely different in their aims.

Orientalism, sexuality and gender studies

Central to this book are the ways in which constructions of gender and sexuality interplay with orientalism and how musical representations play a part in the portrayals of these ideas. One aspect of the ‘Orient’ and sexuality that most fascinated Europeans in this era, and about which there were many stories and fantasies created, was the ‘Oriental’ woman. According to Said ‘the Orient was a place where one could look for sexual experience unobtainable in Europe’.³⁷ Indeed sexuality is an important aspect of colonial discourse, as fantasy and desire are fundamental aspects in orientalist and colonial relationships with the Other. The primary focus of Western views of feminine sexuality in the ‘Orient’ was the harem; the film academic Mary Hamer writes how ‘Orientalism is seductive: it offers forms for European pleasure ... where absolute power can create a space for the play of sexualities – the eunuch, the lesbian, the slave – that are constrained elsewhere.’³⁸ Fantasies of the harem are played out across all of the British arts in the long nineteenth century, as is demonstrated in the examples used in this book.

Not only was female ‘Oriental’ sexuality a preoccupation, but in fact the ‘Orient’ as a geographical space was frequently viewed as metaphorically sensual and was nearly always understood in feminine terms; consequently in European imagery, the ‘Orient’ has been conceptualized not only as racialized, but as feminized too.³⁹

35 Ralph P. Locke, ‘Exoticism and Orientalism in Music: Problems for the Worldly Critic’, in P.A. Bové (ed.), *Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), p. 266.

36 Locke, ‘Exoticism’ <www.grovemusic.com>.

37 Said, *Orientalism*, p. 190.

38 Mary Hamer, ‘Timeless Histories: A British Dream of Cleopatra’, in Matthew Bernstein (ed.), *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1997), p. 271.

39 Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 73.

Thus the 'Orient' was often viewed through the fantasized metaphor of the Eastern woman. Meyda Yeğenoğlu believes that critically, it is imperative to subject the discourse of 'Orient' to a reading that explores this sexualization, as she asserts that the European understandings of 'Orient' and the women therein are interrelating frameworks.⁴⁰ Even when a work does not directly represent a sexualized 'Oriental' woman, themes of Other sexuality can proliferate. The film theorist Ella Shohat considers one aspect of this idea – the veil – an idea also explored by Meyda Yeğenoğlu.⁴¹ Shohat asserts that the 'Orient' is frequently presented metaphorically through the image of the veiled woman, and that '[t]he inaccessibility of the veiled woman, mirroring the mystery of the Orient itself, requires a process of Western unveiling for comprehension'. The process of unveiling the 'Oriental' woman came 'to allegorise the Western masculinist power of possession, that she, as a metaphor for her land, becomes available for Western penetration and knowledge'.⁴² So alongside the feminization and sexualization of 'Oriental' cultures and geography, 'Oriental' women can be used in texts as a metaphor for the 'Orient', thus the intertwined issues of women and the sexualization of the East are essential in understanding European views of the 'Orient'.

In recent scholarship of orientalism there are also increasing calls for the consideration of the influence of gender upon European depictions of the Other.⁴³ Gender is no longer considered to be biological fact, but is now recognized as incorporating networks of culturally learnt and supported roles, thoughts and ideas, all of which affect artworks and cultural artefacts. Reina Lewis has been influential in her analyses of works created by female Orientalists, criticizing Said for never questioning 'women's apparent absence as producers of Orientalist discourse or as agents within colonial power' in *Orientalism*.⁴⁴ She recognizes that just as orientalist texts are influenced by the preceding bodies of work on 'Orient', they are also influenced by concepts of gender at the time of their creation,⁴⁵ and that women's texts are 'specifically gendered because of the social and psychological restraints on their experience and representation of the Orient'.⁴⁶ However Billie Melman warns against a misguided belief that European women were not guilty of orientalist prejudice, as they frequently subscribed to European 'values' including a belief in 'progress' and an assurance of cultural supremacy; thus women's presentations of

40 Yeğenoğlu, *Colonial Fantasies*, p. 26.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 44.

42 Ella Shohat, 'Gender and Culture of Empire: Toward a Feminist Ethnography of the Cinema', in Matthew Bernstein (ed.), *Visions of the East: Orientalism in Film* (London: I.B. Tauris Publishers, 1997), pp. 32–3.

43 Clare Midgley, 'Introduction: Gender and Imperialism: Mapping the Connections', in Clare Midgley (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), p. 10.

44 Reina Lewis, *Gendering Orientalism: Race, Femininity and Representation* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 18.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 33.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 184.

‘Orient’ and Empire are not a ‘*separate* tradition’, but gender-influenced depictions within the body of European works on ‘Orient’.⁴⁷

In any historical moment or cultural community, a system of gender is established which lays out the terms of ‘normal’ and ‘abnormal’ gender behaviours, of what is acceptable and what is not. Gender roles in Other communities were often misunderstood as they were different from British normalized ‘standards’, however the ‘Orient’ and Empire could also be used to reaffirm British ideas of their own gendering; ‘Oriental’ men were often portrayed as warmongering and violent, embodying everything that the British ‘gentleman’ did not. This is investigated by John Tosh in his work on masculinity and Empire, and explored in Chapter 6 of this book.

Interdisciplinarity and orientalism

Orientalist works incorporate belief systems that overarch multiple aspects of cultural production and hence benefit interdisciplinary study. The ethnomusicologist Inge Boer considers interdisciplinarity an essential aspect of orientalist criticism in musicology:

Orientalism identified as discourse makes it possible, even imperative, to transcend the boundaries between disciplines. As a form of knowledge, Orientalism surpasses text-image divisions, for example, and hence distinctions between literature and art history as separate disciplines engaged in Orientalism. Multiple crossings and connections knit an intertextuality that calls forth more interdisciplinary work on Orientalism.⁴⁸

Thus the interdisciplinary study of orientalist art productions is beginning to have a high profile in some musicological, academic spheres.

Despite this increasing popularity of interdisciplinary frameworks within many of the arts (including music), the critical consideration of interdisciplinarity remains a small body of writing (often highly contextually specific). A distinction can be made between multidisciplinary approaches which borrow ideas from other disciplines in order to adapt and build upon existing methods and theories within a discipline, and interdisciplinarity which involves the ‘*melding*’ of concepts, methods and theoretical frameworks coming from different disciplines’.⁴⁹ Bill Readings in *The University in Ruins* (1996) and Joe Moran in *Interdisciplinarity* (2002) both discuss how the criticism of academic disciplines as restrictive is as old as the separation into disciplines.⁵⁰ The term ‘interdisciplinary’ emerged ‘within the context of these

47 Billie Melman, *Women’s Orients: English Women and the Middle East, 1718–1918* (Hong Kong: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), p. 17.

48 Inge E. Boer, ‘Introduction: Imaginative Geographies and the Discourse of Orientalism’, in Inge E. Boer (ed.), *After Orientalism: Critical Entanglements, Productive Looks* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003), p. 13.

49 Yvonne Rogers, Mike Scaife and Antonio Rizzo, *Interdisciplinarity: An Emergent or Engineered Process?* Cognitive Science Research Paper 556 (Brighton: University of Sussex, February 2003), pp. 4–5.

50 Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (London: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 89, and Joe Moran, *Interdisciplinarity* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 14.

anxieties' as early as the mid-1920s and became commonly used in academia in the humanities and social sciences directly following the Second World War.⁵¹ Yet three-quarters of a century later, there is still little theoretical literature considering the concept. Moran cites many figures and schools as examples of working interdisciplinarity (even if they never utilized the term themselves), including Sigmund Freud (p. 97), Charles Darwin (p. 162), structuralists such as Roland Barthes (p. 85), the new historicists (p. 138), queer theorists (p. 108) and post-colonialists including Said (p. 168). As well as embracing a more 'traditional search for a wide-ranging, total knowledge', interdisciplinarity can include a fundamental questioning of knowledge and the ways in which we attempt to organize it.⁵²

Interdisciplinary influences

Derek B. Scott's frequently interdisciplinary work has been influential on this book, primarily his several publications on orientalism but also his recurrent focus on popular music in nineteenth-century Britain.⁵³ This book likewise focuses on popular artworks intended for mass consumption by an urban general public, an area of exploration that has become acceptable to traditional academic musicology in the last few decades. Another area that has risen to prominence during this period is the consideration of women, gender and music, a number of publications of which have encouraged this study, including *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (1987),⁵⁴ *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (1994)⁵⁵ and Derek Hyde's *New-Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music* (1998).⁵⁶ The connections between women, sexuality, gender and music are becoming more frequently explored, as has been done in this book.

Since the early 1990s interdisciplinary methodologies have increasingly influenced musicology. There has been a growing awareness that the traditional idea of the arts as 'sisters' can be updated and utilized in explorations of, for example, the influence of art forms upon one another or the influence of cultural change and ideas upon those art forms. As discussed in Part III, *Visual Culture*, Richard Leppert has published widely on the intertextuality between 'high art' and music and more recently art critics like Suzanne Fagence Cooper are specializing in music and its visual representation.⁵⁷ Since the turn of the twenty-first century a number of

51 Moran, *Interdisciplinarity*, p. 15.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 14–15.

53 Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour* (Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1989).

54 Ellen Koskoff (ed.), *Women and Music in Cross-Cultural Perspective* (London: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1987).

55 Leslie Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (eds), *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

56 Derek Hyde, *New-Found Voices: Women in Nineteenth-Century English Music*, 3rd edn (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998).

57 Suzanne Fagence Cooper, 'Aspiring to the Condition of Music: Painting in Britain 1860–1900', in Jeremy Dibble and Bennett Zon (eds), *Nineteenth-Century British Music*

interdisciplinary scholars, primarily women, have been considering depictions of music in literature, for example *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction* (2004) edited by Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff,⁵⁸ and the work of Phyllis Weliver.

Orientalism and musicology

As can be demonstrated from the preceding catalogue of influential works above, it is becoming more generally acknowledged that cultural context is an important aspect of musicological interpretation,⁵⁹ thus in some ways musicology is integrating more ethnomusicological elements. As David Gramit recognizes, ‘Among the areas of musicology that have been particularly vital in recent years is the exploration of European composers’ representations of cultural “others”’;⁶⁰ however much of this musicological research regards late nineteenth-century European opera, and there is little analysis of orientalism on the British stage, a situation that this book aims to redress.

Edward Said devoted a section of his 1993 book *Culture and Imperialism* to an exploration of Giuseppe Verdi’s (1813–1901) *Aida* (1871) in its cultural/orientalist context;⁶¹ this led to heightened discussions within musicology about imperialism and orientalism, and more directly to articles such as Paul Robinson’s ‘Is *Aida* an Orientalist Opera?’ (1993).⁶² In *Culture and Imperialism* Said discusses his interpretation of *Aida* as representing an ‘Orientalized Egypt’ with ‘Oriental’ music created by Verdi;⁶³ he concludes that ‘As a highly specialized form of aesthetic memory, *Aida* embodies, as it was intended to do, the authority of Europe’s version of Egypt at a moment in its nineteenth-century history.’⁶⁴ These operatic works represent Europeans’ perceptions of the ‘Orient’, as opposed to any reality of those cultures. Said’s writing here is certainly a large leap from his musings on Western art music that he had published only two years earlier under the title *Musical Elaborations* (1991);⁶⁵ despite his assertion in that text that musical study ‘can be more, and not less, interesting if we situate music as taking place, so to speak, in a social and cultural setting’,⁶⁶ he seems to treat music in the abstract, almost de-contextualizing it.

Studies (London: Ashgate, 2002), vol. 2, pp. 251–77.

58 Sophie Fuller and Nicky Losseff (eds), *The Idea of Music in Victorian Fiction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

59 Jeffrey Richards, *Imperialism and Music: Britain 1876–1953* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 8.

60 David Gramit, ‘Orientalism and the Lied: Schubert’s “Du liebst mich nicht”’, *19th-Century Music*, 27/2 (2003): 97.

61 Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1993), pp. 134–57.

62 Paul Robinson, ‘Is *Aida* an Orientalist Opera?’, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 5/2 (July 1993): 133–40.

63 Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, p. 145.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 151.

65 Edward W. Said, *Musical Elaborations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

66 *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

Said's specific references to music and the 'Orient' in *Culture and Imperialism* came at a time when musicologists were beginning to be more concerned with orientalism; indeed it was in the early 1990s that Ralph P. Locke, one of the most published musicologists on orientalism and music, began to focus on this area. This focus has continued to the present day, and he is currently working on a set of books on exoticism and orientalism for Cambridge University Press (of which some chapters have previously been published in article format), entitled *The Exotic in Music: Reflections; Musical Exoticism from the Renaissance Court to Mozart and The Middle East in Western Music*.⁶⁷

Not only has Locke written about particular 'Oriental' works, including Camille Saint-Saëns's (1835–1921) *Samson et Dalila* (1877),⁶⁸ he addresses orientalism as a phenomenon within musicology and suggests theoretical frameworks through and by which it can be considered. In 1998 he sets out five 'interrelated issues' to contemplate when regarding orientalist musicology: how much works (claim to) reflect the 'real' 'Orient'; how 'Oriental' fantasy interplays with this; how the 'Orient' is depicted musically and extra-musically; if 'Oriental' musical devices are there, how they relate to other musical exoticisms (for example Native American or 'Gypsy' tropes); and do these musical devices actually relate to any lived, 'real' 'Oriental' music?⁶⁹ In *The Musical Stage* aspects of this framework are utilized, however the majority of the case studies in this discussion are not overtly musically 'Oriental'-influenced.

Alongside this framework Locke makes many other suggestions about orientalism and musicology that are of pertinence to this book. As much as musical works may claim to represent the 'Orient' they are also fictions, intended to be enjoyable entertainments or aesthetic diversions,⁷⁰ something particularly true of comic stage works. Locke asserts that this 'very fictiveness of artworks serves to disguise or make palatable some demonstrably prejudicial portrayals of other peoples and places'.⁷¹ Positive portrayals of the Other 'can veil from sight the complexities of that other culture as fully as do frankly negative stereotypes',⁷² something that is considered in Chapter 3: 'An angel/demon dualism'. Indeed Locke believes that the romance of 'Oriental' operatic works could serve to mask underlying political struggles,⁷³ and just like Said and Sardar, contends that there is more to learn about Europe than the 'Orient' in these works, particularly in patently allegorical works set in the 'Orient', but addressing European concerns.⁷⁴ With all 'Oriental' works one must remember that the work is European – in many ways it is irrelevant to the 'Orient', as are

67 Private Communication, 1 February 2007, from Ralph P. Locke to the author.

68 Ralph P. Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East', *19th-Century Music*, 22/1 (Summer 1998): 42.

69 Ralph P. Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers, Muezzins and Timeless Sands: Musical Images of the Middle East', in Jonathon Bellman (ed.), *The Exotic in Western Music* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998), p. 105.

70 *Ibid.*, p. 105.

71 Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', *19th-Century Music*: 22.

72 Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', in *The Exotic in Western Music*, p. 108.

73 Locke, 'Cutthroats and Casbah Dancers', *19th-Century Music*: 37.

74 Ralph P. Locke, 'Reflections on Orientalism in Opera and Musical Theater', *Opera Quarterly*, 10/1 (1993–94): 61.

those cultures to it – but despite this it can have the power to influence and change Europeans' perceptions and behaviours towards its Others.⁷⁵

More recently Matthew Head has also addressed orientalism and musicology from a theoretical viewpoint in his article 'Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory' (2003). He criticizes the 'safari mentality' of many musicologists who name and classify the Other, merely observing orientalism instead of evaluating it.⁷⁶ He describes how musicologists 'almost always describe orientalist figures as clearly, even self-evidently, identifiable and recognisable. This is all the more remarkable because writers do not necessarily agree with each other on whether a work contains an orientalist figure.'⁷⁷ He wishes to dissuade academics from attempting to create a teleological, developmental view of orientalism, as for Head orientalist representations fall out of fashion, rather than evolve, usually because of changes in the European cultures that create them.⁷⁸ The orientalist romances of Rider Haggard could be seen as a case in point: in the 1890s they were at the height of fashion and innovation in portrayals of the Other, however by the late 1910s Haggard's continuing creation of romances involving the same model of the Other had become outdated, and works like Hull's *The Sheik* of 1919, which inverts and manipulates many of Haggard's orientalist images, were instead the mode. Head quotes Haggard's 'insight' about military might that 'the Other can "serve as a template for self-construction, being [presented as] a model of the martial power to which the colonist aspired"⁷⁹. This insight can be developed; not only can the Other be inspirational (and envy-inducing) in certain cultural aspects, so providing a 'template' for European observers, but the Other can also act as a *foil* for 'self-construction', a marker against which Europeans may consider what they are (supposedly) not.

This book is being produced at a time when orientalism is clearly grounded in musicological theory, and a juncture at which there is heightened awareness of orientalism owing to the recent death of Edward Said, who nonetheless remains a seminal influence. This book is adding to the corpus of interdisciplinary work that is being built around musicology,⁸⁰ embracing orientalist theories, and specifically exploring ideas of the Other, gender and sexuality and their interplay in different popular art-forms.

75 Ralph P. Locke, 'Reflections on Orientalism in Opera and Musical Theater', *Opera Quarterly*, 10/1 (1993–94): 61.

76 M. Head, 'Critical Forum: Musicology on Safari: Orientalism and the Spectre of Postcolonial Theory', *Music Analysis*, 22/1–2 (2003): 223.

77 *Ibid.*, 223–4.

78 *Ibid.*, 226.

79 H. Rider Haggard quoted in Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (eds), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: a Reader* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), p. 17. Cited in Head, 'Critical Forum': 214.

80 One forthcoming example being Bennett Zon's *Representing Non-Western Music in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Rochester: Rochester University Press, forthcoming) which purports to discuss representations of music in relation to 'race' and contemporaneous 'scientific' theories.

British orientalism and the long nineteenth-century arts

Each of the three sections of this book opens with a short introduction and overview with specific reference to the artistic mediums discussed in that section. The discussions of the musical stage and 'high art' incorporate works ranging from the start of the 1810s through into the 1910s, whereas the literature and other visual sections focus more on the second half of the long nineteenth century. Although the primary focus has been on these later decades when ideas about the Other and 'Orient' were increasingly stereotyped and negative, it was pertinent to retain investigations of the early nineteenth-century musical stage and 'high art' to illustrate the ways in which orientalist-musical representations of the late nineteenth century continued and changed earlier ideas and did not suddenly emerge fully-fledged. The sections on earlier nineteenth-century opera and art are therefore important to contextualize the later nineteenth-century thoughts and depictions discussed more widely in this book.

It is apparent that *The Musical Stage* covers larger numbers of artists (both composers and librettists) and works than the other sections, and this is because these works offer a different type of representation of the Other and 'Orient'; unlike the visual and fictional works which use music to describe Others, in opera libretti Others are described in text that is set to music. The *Works of Fiction* and *Visual Culture* sections utilize fewer primary examples because the frequent metaphorical nature of the musical references means that the sources are often richer and more complex in their presentations of the musical Other, whereas the opera libretti tend to offer more shallow and less nuanced stereotyping, thus profiting more from analysis in conjunction with many other contemporary works. Owing to the relative size of a novel or romance in relation to a visual artwork or opera text, it made sense to focus on a close study in the *Works of Fiction* section, and it was the particular richness and interesting applications of othered musical representation in the works of H. Rider Haggard that led to my focus on him in these chapters on fiction (and indeed also in the illustration chapter in *Visual Culture*), alongside his own influence and success as a literary and colonial figure at the close of the long nineteenth century.

The Musical Stage

This opening section of the book considers a selection of opera libretti as examples of how the 'Orient' and more general Others were depicted on the stage in nineteenth-century Britain, with analyses of both musical numbers and spoken dialogue. *The Musical Stage* addresses case studies of opera libretti spanning over one hundred years; the lengthier timeframe of this section creates the opportunity to illustrate how the musical representations of the late nineteenth century continued and changed from the earlier ideas. Libretto theory exploring the relationships between text and music in opera is pertinent to this part of this book, and is a field that is beginning to gain more interest. In his 1977 book *Romantic Opera and Literary Form*, Peter Conrad makes the provocative statements that 'Words and music are enemies' and that

‘Opera is the continuation of their warfare’.⁸¹ When interpreting opera it is delicate to reach a ‘truce’ in the ‘warfare’ between words and music; one cannot ignore either music or text completely, but an analysis almost inevitably places weightier focus on one of these areas. In attempting to perform this balancing act, many writers being *musicologists* will ultimately stress the precedence of music. Paul Robinson did so when he wrote that ‘Words and stories, however, are *only* the beginning’ and that the ‘principal thing’ distinguishing opera from drama is music.⁸² Robinson believes that ‘The master question for any interpreter of opera must not be “What does the text say, but How is the text realised, or at least addressed, in the music?”’⁸³ Indeed, when attempting to interpret an opera, it is the music that distinguishes it from ‘straight’ drama; however this section is not attempting to interpret opera as such, but to see if and how representations in opera express commonly held nineteenth-century ideas and opinions. Accordingly, this book is not attempting to read the ‘meaning’ of opera (whatever that may be) through libretti, but attempts to utilize libretti as cultural documents and indicators of widely held acceptable thought.

In *Indian Music and the West* (1997) Gerry Farrell expresses his belief that a ‘standardised musical orientalism’ was created in the nineteenth century,⁸⁴ which the repertoire of stereotypical ‘native’ characterizations in the non-European musical stage works of Sir Henry Bishop helped to create and uphold at the start of the century. To an extent, it is true that some of the stereotypes at times are ‘racially’ interchangeable, supporting Edward Said’s contention that Others are frequently considered in ‘abstract generalities’;⁸⁵ the notion that the majority of ‘natives’ would be corrupt, violent and idolatrous is applicable whether in Africa, South America, India or the ‘Middle East’. Other ideas however are more culturally and geographically specific – a fascination with mysticism and hidden sexuality is reserved for the ‘Orient’ and does not transfer elsewhere, and the stereotype of the ‘noble savage’ whether female or male (with its accompanying associations of ‘quaintness’) is not applied to Islamic cultures, but is employed to different degrees to representations of South Americans, black Africans and Indians. A violent South American idolatry acts as the antithesis of the ‘noble savage’ stereotype – incarnating the ‘savage’ proper; in the depictions of true ‘savages’ in Bishop’s works there is no trace of the quaintness associated with pidgin-English comedy characters, or the guileless self-sacrificing women, but mere violent savagery.

In Bishop’s South American musical stage works there is a clear line drawn between those characters considered ‘noble’ and ‘quaint’ and those merely seen as savage, and that line is the ‘native’ attitude to the Europeans. Those who help the

81 Peter Conrad, *Romantic Opera and Literary Form* (London: University of California Press, 1977), p. 178.

82 Paul Robinson, *Opera and Ideas: From Mozart to Strauss* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1985), p. 2.

83 Paul Robinson, ‘A Deconstructive Postscript: Reading Libretti and Misreading Opera’, in Arthur Groos and Roger Parker (eds), *Reading Opera* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 341–2.

84 Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 78–9.

85 Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 154–5.

Europeans are viewed as quaintly noble, yet ‘racially’ inferior, however those who do not align themselves with the white characters are depicted as ‘racially’ ‘degenerate’ and dangerous. This binarism between dangerous and ‘noble’ ‘savages’ aligns with the assertion that Others were depicted as ‘degenerate’ to validate conquest and interference, but redeemable enough to excuse Europe’s continuing interference.⁸⁶ By the early nineteenth century however, non-Europeans began to be portrayed in a downward spiral of negativity – as foolish (a darker aspect of quaintness) and ‘degenerate’, with the ‘noble savage’ myth dying out by the mid-century. The opera libretti set by Bishop serve as examples of these greater trends in British thought, on the cusp of the quaint ‘noble savage’s’ demise.

By the mid-nineteenth century and the composition of the musical dramatic works used here as case studies, representations had altered markedly from those of Bishop’s day. The overall tone of these works is much more comical, and complex subjects are treated with less gravity. The representations of ‘Oriental’ women have diversified, but also strengthened in negativity in some aspects; dichotomies are established with the ‘Oriental’ female as proud predatory, sexual being or conversely as duty-bound, languishing, object of voyeuristic sexual fantasy. There is furthermore a more overt focus on the harem as a concept and as a physical space. Miscegenation (inter-‘racial’ sexual relationships) continues to be practised, and now with Islamic women, but still not with Africans who are generally represented in a much more derogatory manner. Violence has diminished, but duplicity and corruption are becoming central aspects of the ‘Oriental’ character, and the representations of religion have become more comical and derogatory and are no longer mystical (in alignment with the death of the ‘noble savage’ ideal). One explanation for the transformation of representations from Bishop’s day may be that as Britain increased its imperial power into the middle decades of the nineteenth century (pre-1857) ‘natives’ seemed to pose less of a threat to British stability, so comical representations of Britain’s Others became more suitable than before. This is the case with *Lord Bateman* (1850) and *The Cadi* (1851) which were both first performed before the upheaval caused by the Indian Mutiny (1857–1858), rocking the security of Empire. On the other hand *L’Africaine, or, The Belle of Madagascar* was performed in 1860 after the rebellion, so perhaps Arbuthnot’s highly negative black characters, and the resurgence of the idea of Others practising human sacrifice, can be attributed to the fear and instability caused by the Mutiny.

The representations of slavery are understandably fewer in these mid-century dramas than in Bishop’s day, with the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act having occurred nearly half a century earlier on 25 March 1807, and the Slavery Abolition Act being enforced from 1834, forbidding the possession of slaves within the British Empire and by British subjects. However the depictions of slavery and black peoples that do occur in these works are far more racist and negative than those of thirty years earlier. Birotteau describes the Cadi’s slaves as ‘These black animals of yours’,⁸⁷ and

⁸⁶ MacKenzie, *Orientalism*, p. 12.

⁸⁷ [Thomas Marie François Sauvage], *The Cadi: or, Amours among Moors. A Comic Opera, in Two Acts. The Music by Ambroise Thomas. As Presented, for the First Time, at The Theatre Royal Haymarket, On Wednesday, June 18th, 1851, Under the Management of*

Arbuthnot's Nelusko sings that 'They call me a darned nigger, 'cos my skin it is not white.'⁸⁸ Use of the term 'nigger' does not occur in any of Bishop's works and here illustrates the newer fear, dislike and contempt for black peoples that were arising in Britain by the mid-nineteenth century. Selika, herself African, jibes 'Nelusko, dear, you're just like a gorilla: / I mean as active';⁸⁹ highlighting the animalistic nature of the African male and then retracting the line to make it seem that the simile was intended to be one of action and not appearance or disposition would have been inconceivable in the worlds of Bishop's musical stage works. Indeed, to reveal the difference in tone, one merely has to view the stage directions for the opening scenes of Arbuthnot's comedy: Vasco enters '*carrying with difficulty a large bottle labelled "Cape Sherry" in one hand, and dragging NELUSKO and SELIKA by a rope round their necks with the other.*'⁹⁰ This imagery of human degradation coupled with a comically large bottle of 'Cape' Sherry (to highlight where Vasco has been travelling) is intended to amuse; clearly gone are the days of Bishop's 'noble savages.'

By the close of the century, on the surface Britain appeared to have convinced itself of the stability of Empire, but the exploration of operatic representations here undertaken digs into the cracks in this veneer of safety, and explores underlying fears and questions of 'Orient' and Empire. Despite the apparent confidence in Empire and Britain at the close of the nineteenth century, the image was brittle, hence the increased mockery and negative stereotyping of non-Europeans and the amplified 'horror' at miscegenation in these case studies. Moving into the twentieth century the earlier depictions continue to solidify, sometimes to the point of caricature, as the stability of Empire wavered and began to fail. Representations of 'Orientals' and other non-Europeans diversified. The old Victorian dichotomy of the 'angel in the home' versus the 'worldly whore' can be seen to be influencing the representations of non-European women in these works; a polarization is established between the pliable, willing, simple and honourable maid (a 'poor relative' of the earlier 'noble savage' figure) and the manipulative, mercurial, sexually-aware temptress. Relating to this, the contradictory ideas concerning miscegenation depend upon which 'category' the 'native' fits into – *with* honour or *without*.

There is a new focus on the physicality of the women, and the idea of undressing replaces that of unveiling – indeed there is generally a move away from ideas of the veil and harem. Dance has become a more central indicator of lax sexuality, again presenting a more physical focus. The non-European males are similarly polarized, but between the noble warrior of places like Japan and Zululand and the caricatures of the imbecilic Chinese or violent Arabs, thus the images of the men have become much more culturally specific, in a way not dissimilar to those of a century earlier in Bishop's works. These contradictions in representations seem to have arisen

Benjamin Webster, Esq. Copyright Edition. [Libretto] [Anonymous translation] (London: S.G. Fairbrother, 1851), p. 31.

88 Captain Arbuthnot, *Lacy's Acting Edition. L'Africaine, or, The Belle of Madagascar. A Burlesque, in One Act. (Being the first Extravaganza on the subject printed.)* [Libretto] (London: Thomas Hails Lacy, n.d. [1860]), p. 8.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 24.

90 *Ibid.*, p. 5.

from greater knowledge of other cultures through increased ease of travel and wider publication, so depictions of ‘natives’ now tend to be geographically specific interpretations of older themes, such as female sexuality, male violence and honour.

Sexuality is a major component of the changing portrayals of non-Europeans in these musical stage works, as are other themes such as ‘nobility’, violence, religious practice and indolence – all of which characteristics were attributed to ‘racial’ difference. It was possible for *some* ‘natives’ to share *some* British characteristics, such as ‘honour’ or ‘duty’, but ‘natives’ could not be ascribed a large number of these, as this would make them socially equal.⁹¹ As Kenan Malik highlights, ‘In the end it mattered little that the scientific basis of racial divisions was tenuous at best. Race was a social category, not a scientific one. What was important ... was not that races existed, but that society should be organized as if they did.’⁹² Representations of non-Europeans like those in these musical works are one such organizational device, often with ‘constructed ignorance’ influencing the ‘representation of races on stage’, thus ‘compound[ing] the stereotyping’.⁹³ In view of this, it is pertinent to return to Peter Kivy’s statement that ‘what is represented’ in musical drama ‘is not music but the world as the librettist, the composer and (at least some of) their contemporaries construe it’;⁹⁴ an assertion supported by the analyses of these libretti case studies.

Prejudices and stereotypes changed throughout the long nineteenth century, and these alterations are mirrored in the works catering to the demands of the day, such as the ‘Oriental’ stage-works of Bishop, Solomon, Talbot and others. Although these stereotypes were also influenced by historical events, like in most popular art-forms, facts were transformed by the popular imagination. The orientalizing of Britain’s Others in these works was largely based upon a lack of understanding of foreign cultures and the song-writers’ romanticization of the changing intellectual ideas of the long nineteenth century.

Works of Fiction

This section of the book considers the highly popular romances of H. Rider Haggard, as well as contextualizing literary works, to investigate the various ways in which musical ‘Orientals’ were represented in nineteenth-century British popular fiction. The focus on Haggard’s works in this section allows an opportunity for an in-depth analysis of this one writer on ‘Orient’ and Other at the end of the long nineteenth century. Haggard was an incredibly successful writer of the Other for a broad commercial readership, thus his works are pertinent as a case study of the ways in which Others could be (and were) represented for a nineteenth-century British

91 Laurence Kitzan, *Victorian Writers and the Image of Empire: The Rose-Colored Vision* (London: Greenwood Press, 2001), p. 8.

92 Kenan Malik, *The Meaning of Race: Race, History and Culture in Western Society* (London: Macmillan Press, 1996), p. 121.

93 Brian Singleton, *Oscar Asche, Orientalism, and British Musical Comedy*. Contributions in Drama and Theatre Studies, Number 106, Lives of the Theatre (London: Praeger, 2004), p. 67.

94 Peter Kivy, *Osmín’s Rage: Philosophical Reflections on Opera, Drama, and Text* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p. 184.

audience. Haggard and his contemporaries utilized music to other women and men in very different ways, hence the section's separation into gendered chapters.

When Haggard's Other women display qualities most feared (yet sometimes desired) by British society they are at their most musical; an essential component of Haggard's characterization for his dangerous, sexual women is musicality, and perhaps Haggard aligns these two concepts because it is hard to rationalize either clearly. He associates their musicality with allure, sensuality, danger, power-lust and finally violence. Although his *femmes fatales* are visually appealing and welcome British men's 'gaze', with their music they subvert power relations and gain control.

Conversely, Haggard's musical images concerning Other men avoid sexualization; instead his music highlights their Other qualities, whether good (including nobility and loyalty) or bad (for example violence or 'primitive' worship). Again in contrast to Haggard's musical individualization of Other women, he primarily uses masculine music to reinforce the idea of a faceless male Other, as part of a group – the Other as described in Said's 'large collective terms'.⁹⁵

The initial contextualizing material in this section places Haggard's works within his contemporary fiction and indicates that for these British fiction-writers music is often closely related to the representation of the Other, as it is frequently used metaphorically to represent innate Other characteristics or as behaviour displaying people's otherness. Music is often not only an indication of otherness, but can be an active force in these works, where it is frequently integral to the othered physicality of non-European characters.

The final chapter in this section acts as a coda, and explores issues of gender and music in E.M. Hull's *The Sheik*. Haggard and many of his contemporaries use musicality to sexualize their 'Oriental' women, however Hull (the *nom de plume* of Edith Maude Winstanley) utilizes similar musical ideas to sensualize her male Sheik. This chapter explores the ways in which Hull subverts the (by then) established markers of 'Oriental' musical sensuality. Music has the ability to express and (as these analyses of Hull and Wilde's works indicate) to transgress ideas of gender and sexuality, making it a valuable device for the nineteenth-century writers here studied. Music, like elements of sexuality and otherness, is difficult to capture satisfactorily through language, which is perhaps one reason why Haggard and his contemporaries so frequently link these concepts.

Visual Culture

This final section examines case studies of Other musics as represented in different visual forms, namely 'high art', photography and illustration, and highlights the ways in which these disciplines frequently overlap in their ideologies and representations of musical 'Orients' and Others. Indeed, one of the most prominent aspects of these case-study explorations of visual culture in long nineteenth-century Britain is the inter-relatedness of the different visual disciplines. The imagery established as acceptable in the 'high arts', most particularly painting, was highly influential on the

95 Said, *Orientalism*, pp. 154–5.

work of photographers and also on the illustrators of popular fiction (both popular in its mass distribution and acceptance, and in being intended for a wide general public). None of these disciplines is independent, but they all take elements from and are influenced by the representations established in one another, and indeed those prevalent in contemporary literary and stage works.

The images considered in this section seem to fall into four broad groupings (although, as with any taxonomy there is always some overlapping). Some of these artists depicted an ‘Orient’ that was entirely of their own imagining, having never visited the societies that they are representing; it is important to distinguish between artists who had visited the ‘Orient’ and those who ‘simply exploited a fashionable style’.⁹⁶ The ‘Oriental’ paintings of artists like Richard Parkes Bonington and photographs by Roger Fenton are pure fantasy, as the artists had never been to the ‘Orient’, thus these works are based purely on the absorption of other people’s descriptions and the prevailing stereotypes and prejudices of the day. These works are the vaguest in their designation of subject, with non-specific titles designating Others as conceptual generalities, like Fenton’s *The Pasha and Bayadère* and Bonington’s *Odalisque in Yellow*. They appear highly staged with only ‘Oriental’ props to designate place, as opposed to any real detail or knowledge.

Continuing the theme of imagination, the second category of works represents a past ‘Orient’, normally one that is more glorious than the present. Many of the illustrations for Haggard’s works (themselves set in ‘history’) can be considered in this way, as can ‘high’ artworks like Lawrence Alma-Tadema’s *Antony and Cleopatra*. Owing to the combination of removed place and time these works can be as fantastical as the artist desires, although all of the works here studied that fall into this category are bounded by external narrative – either Haggard’s texts, Biblical story or ‘historical’ myth.

The third group contains artists who visited the ‘Orient’, but who chose to focus on the places and peoples prohibited to them, instead of what they had actually seen. The many harem scenes explored in Chapter 10 fall into this category, as indeed do Felice Beato’s *geisha* photographs; they emphasize the British desire to penetrate the ‘Oriental’ veil. Finally there are those who tried to portray the ‘real’ ‘Orient’ as they saw it, including the photographer Frances Frith and the artists Frank Dillon and Sir John Lavery.

In my search for visual materials I contacted many art institutions,⁹⁷ but it was difficult to find many non-‘factual’ photographs of non-European musicians, hence this book’s slightly shorter section on photography. I had also originally wished to

96 Philippe Jullian, *The Orientalists: European Painters of Eastern Scenes* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1977), p. 30.

97 Including the Royal Geographical Society Picture Library, the Royal Academy of Music, The Bill Douglas Centre, the City of Westminster Archives Centre, the Templeman Library, Bethlem Royal Hospital and The British Film Institute; I also visited The British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, The Victoria and Albert Museum, The National Gallery, The Louvre and the Tate Britain. Although I corresponded with a variety of the curatorial staff of The National Trust, they held nothing in their collections that I could use for this study.

devote a chapter to the depiction of non-European musicians in silent film, however sources were scarce and difficult to view so I had to shelve this line of enquiry.

Each of the artworks discussed in this book is an individual response to Britain's Others, but although the 'Orient' inspired artists in different ways and in varied mediums, many of the British Victorian stereotypes of 'Orient', including a 'noble' historical past, present-day negative religious ritual and (particularly) heightened female sexuality, are evident in these visual representations. This book's interpretation of this sample of images heightens the viewers' awareness of the cultural-orientalist context in which they were created, revealing not only how music was often considered a valuable tool in the depiction of Others, but also the various ways in which the 'Orient' entered the artistic imagination during the long nineteenth century in Britain.

Concluding remarks

Certain representations of the musical 'Orient' and Other suffuse these case studies, and move between the different artworks, artists and art-forms, despite the many nuances in staging. This book explores the differences between these specific depictions, but also aims to determine which elements of these representations are more stable and long-lasting, and if, how and why they change with time.

In any study of this nature the author must decide upon the depth of analysis; it was not my desire to attempt to cover large amounts of material in only shallow detail, so whilst endeavouring to retain a broad spectrum of examples, the focus is more particularly on certain artists and artworks. In a realm as subjective as the portrayal of Others and 'Orient' there will inevitably be (often much) difference between individual artists' ideas, thus in focusing on specific people, and being able to contextualize them biographically and historically, I feel that the resultant detailed and historically-grounded analyses have justified this decision.

This book's interdisciplinary framework allows the consideration of a broad cross-section of examples from the popular arts and thus an insight into some of the ways in which widespread prejudices of the Other and 'Orient' were played out in different art-forms. Whilst interdisciplinary, this book attempts to be balanced in its theoretical understanding of the different arts, thus a large body of theoretical writings has been consulted and engaged with; through these means, and despite the focus on representations of music, it attempts to avoid biasing this study too much towards the single discipline of music. The choice of primary material to analyse and for contextualization in this exploration has been as broad-ranging as was practical, and includes opera libretti, play texts, songs, travel writings, romances, novellas, short stories, poems, children's fiction, diaries, 'high art', photographs, films, book illustrations, periodical illustrations, newspapers, magazines and journals. Through the analyses of this set of case studies taken from the long nineteenth-century British popular arts, this book explores issues of the Other, orientalism, gender and sexuality with regards to representations of non-European music and musicians.